REFORM JUDAISM AND ZIONISM

An Examination of Dr. David Philipson's Thesis That They Are Irreconcilable

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an loves to think in antitheses. ven and earth, light and darkness, and falsehood, are old dualisms. or my part, shall choose "yes and as contrasts. "Yes" seems to friendly, cordial word; "no," a There is a sacred , ugly word. the ves of firmly determined igth, the ves that creates and ls; and there is a wretched no. 10 of obstinacy, the no that, not ving itself what it wishes, only ovs what others have secured ugh creation and construction. rnment and anarchy illustrate ontrast. There is, however, also vretched ves, the ves of sheer al laziness, the yes of habit and rm, the yes that does not compreanything that is new or trembles re it, and there is a sacred no, the no at is in reality the expression of a verful desire for healing and salva-" (Nietzsche), the no that is born a longing for truth, that opposes present in order to bring about the ire. Bureaucracy and freedom are ances of this contrast. Bureaucy must fight for its life. It has a stitution that suits it, and to this emains loval to the very letter. In name of security and progress it s old paragraphs of the law, and

thereby casts suspicion upon the right-fulness of all opposition. The freeing of peoples is conscience transformed into action. It makes an end of the old routine. It overthrows the idols because it seeks out God. It is not willing to be restrained and deluded through considerations of worldly wisdom. For the truth has revealed itself to it as an inexorable demand, and that admits of no delay—"Do not hold us back; we must do or die."

A sacred no of freedom is Zionism: its adversary, the wretched ves of the bureaucratic regime, is an antiquated wing of American Reform Judaism. In its name my colleague, Dr. David Philipson, has recently taken the floor (in a sermon published in the American Israelite and other papers). He has excommunicated Zionism as "absolutely incompatible and irreconcilable with Reform Judaism." Zionism is forcing its way. Many a rabbi becomes a convert. Import Reform pulpits in the country are being filled by Zionists. In his own congregation there are Zionists. Under these circumstances the ban of excommunication is the weapon of last resort. Reform Judaism and Zionism are absolutely incompatible and irreconcilable! Dr. Philipson still owes us some proof for this thesis. Indeed,

he summons the canonical reformers as witnesses, for "one of the first practical results of the agitations for reform was the elimination from the traditional liturgy of all prayers for the return to Palestine, the reinstitution of the Jewish State and the re-establishment of the throne of David." markable achievement! Moreover, he appeals to "the famous Pittsburg Rabbinical Conference," at which, together with the Jewish nation and the Abrahamitic rite, the rebuilding of the Jewish State was buried once and for all time, for, as they held, the Messianic hopes of Israel had already found their fulfilment in the present.

That was in the year 1885. Meanwhile, Israel has had a wealth of opportunity to taste the bloody joy of this Messianic time to the full, the position of the whole world has been shifted, and with it the situation of the Jewish people. It has been in a state of ferment and the people have awakened. New movements have arisen. and every thoughtful Jew has been led to revise his opinions through the history of so active a period. Not so Dr. Philipson. And if the whole world round about him were to fall in pieces, he alone would still remain immovable as a rocher de bronze, and would cite the "resolutions" of the famous Pittsburg Conference, the canonical Reformers and the rabbinical conferences having solved and settled all questions of Judaism for all time. If new complications arise, then we have simply to look up the church fathers and decrees of the church councils there find the answer. You have constitution which suits you and comfortably cite its sections clauses. These relieve the Epigor every movement of the necessity o dependent thinking and of taking dividual attitudes toward new p They can avail themselve their dogmatic Shuhan Aruk, w they can thumb right and left. course that does not keep one : calling himself "progressive," if word happens to be part of phraseology of the party. Likewi does not prevent him from attemp to create the impression of indep ent thinking and close grappling the new problem by using such rl rical phrases as "Let us have of then, with all attempts at defending thesis of the possibility of reconc the attitude of Reform Judaism Zionism."

It would be only reasonable to pect that one who throws down gauntlet for an historically important party should be thoroughly acquain with the opposing movement. In however, is not the case. Dr. Plason identifies Jewish nationalism political nationalism with Zionism though these two movements in the as well as in practice are distinct separate. For it is plain that Jepolitical nationalism strives to a recognition of the Jewish nationalism with the other nationalities the State, as we may see today

own eyes in Russia and Austria. ism may sympathize with this nalpolitical endeavor, but it identitiself with it in no wise. The Jewationalists of these States may be nore Zionistic than the Poles in nany or the Finns and Ruthenians ussia, who are likewise striving ational rights. The Jewish Bund until recently the nationalistic ortation of the Jewish laborers in ia, on Social-democratic princi-

Nevertheless, the attitude of the I toward Zionism was very hospecause of the bourgeois tone of sm and its indifference toward the question.

wish nationalism and the Zionism in vogue" may be declared to be nymous with about as much reas "political" may be considered a alor verbal antonym of "spiritual." Philipson says: "Reform Judaism iritual, Zionism is political," and er declares that the elimination of tionalistic hopes from the prayerindicated "a substitution of the y spiritual for the political mis-I have looked the matter up in al English dictionaries in order id some justification or explanaof this contrasting of "spiritual" 'political." As a matter of fact, only are these two concepts not ally exclusive, but, on the conthey include each other in so far ery truly great and epoch-making cal movement takes its rise in winspiring thought, in a ruling iple, in some spirit that takes hold of the people; in other words, is spiritual in the highest sense. But I, too, have my church fathers whom I consult whenever theological problems vex me. I open the venerable *Totengespräche* of Fritz Mauthner (Berlin, 1906), and find on page 39 this dogma: "Was einmal theologisch war, kann niemals wieder logisch werden."

Dr. Philipson feels so confident of the force of his argument that even the first Reformers eliminated all prayers for the return to Palestine, the reinstituting of the Jewish state and the restoration of the throne of David from the prayer-book, that as a consequence he assumes it as impossible for a Reform Jew to embrace Zionism. the other hand, I wish to remind Dr. Philipson of the fact that the first Reformers eliminated these national allusions from the prayer-book, not out of opposition to Zionism, for such a thing was not then in existence, but out of opposition to the mediaeval Messianism, according to which the Messiah, a sprout from the stock of David, would lead the Jews from all the corners of the world, with the aid of miracles, to Jerusalem, there to rebuild the Temple and reinstitute the sacrificial cult. Zionism, however, has absolutely nothing to do with this mediaeval Messianism, and the differences between Zionism and Messianism have often been pointed out by the Zionists themselves. Indeed, in one sense it is even necessary for Zionism to be opposed to the mediaeval Messianism in

so far as its fundamental belief—that we have to bear a punishment visited upon us by God and that our political restoration will be brought about by the Almighty Himself after we have done penance for our guilt-is supposed to relieve us of every care about our national freedom, our unity and independence. The individual Zionist may pray whatsoever he will and howsoever he will, for Zionism permits everyone to be happy in his own way. But at no time has Zionism recognized the prayer for the advent of the Messiah as an official means for the acquisition of Palestine or for any other end, nor has it ever declared itself in favor of the crowning of a Davidide or the restoration of the sacrificial cult and of similar ideas. Just as the first Reformers eliminated mediaeval Messianism from their Prayer-book, so have the Zionists eliminated it as a political factor from their movement. From this it appears that one may be an anti-Messianist Reformer, and, at the same time, an anti-Messianist Zionist, a fact which has evidently not yet become clear to Dr. Philipson, else he would never have called the canonical Reformers and the "famous Pittsburg Rabbinical Conference" into the contest.

My anti-Zionist friend has, moreover, a whole row of striking antitheses: "Reform Judaism is universal, Zionism is oriental. Reform Judaism looks to the future, Zionism to the past; the outlook of Reform Judaism is the world, the outlook of Zionism is

a corner of Western Asia." For who delves beneath the surface all the is empty sound, mere chaff that already been threshed over a thous times, and which I haven't the least sire to thresh over again. I shall sin suggest one topic for rumination. I exalting and ennobling must the ef be on the well-fed, comfortable, self. isfied Philistine in the pew when his s keeper assures him for the hundre time that he is spiritual, he is the universalist, to whom the future, the whole world belongs by right; the embodiment of the ideals of I ism which the Zionists have sur dered!

But I shall leave this unfru polémique and rather examine the tion of both Reform and Zionism Judaism as it appears to me. I hope trust that I may come to some un standing on this question with 1 of my Reform friends who do imagine that the Pittsburg Rabbi Conference has uttered the last on the Jewish question, and who willing to have neither their right their duty to think for thems usurped by their grandfathers great-grandfathers.

I must, however, state in additional that since Reform is an internal inter

se are quite incommensurable with purely spiritual movement of Jew-Reform.

The spirit of modern times came o the ghetto, not slowly and graduy, so that the inhabitants could have I time to adapt themselves to their v environment and to rescue their ividuality, unbroken and pure, out the confusion. "Like a deluge new era broke out over them, rying away every structure, everyng essentially Jewish." From withpressed our friends, the Christian ocates of emancipation, the princiof which had already been present in French Revolution, urging the selfancipation of the Jews, that is, as v understood it, self-emancipation m all those "peculiarities" that had to that time stood in the way of ir closer association with the Chris-1s, and insisting that "without imving and refining the Jewish rit-" no emancipation could be granted. st at this critical period of transithere was a dearth of great, powul personalities that could have ced the stream into the right direc-1. With the intense desire for eduion that Jews more than others feel, y madly rushed upon the civilization t opened to them. They understood I well that modern education would nit of no combination with the old laism of the ghetto. They did not beeed quietly and thoughtfully to work of modification, so that in the urse of centuries a synthesis of the Judaism and European civilization would gradually grow up—no, that had to be created artificially, as if by magic, in the course of a few decades. An uncontrollable desire for freedom had been kindled. Not only the ghetto, no, the whole of the narrowing Middle Ages had to be laid low; all boundaries had to be torn down, not only between classes and ranks, no, between nations and peoples; from the land of slavery into the heart of Christian freedom, into the civilization of Europe!

Among the manifold institutions of modern civilization there was, however, one against which the Jews have struggled with all their might—the Christian Church. Not only were they unable to accept its dogmas, but they also felt themselves instinctively repelled by it as the hotbed of mediaeval Jew-hatred. Every blessing and curse of modern civilization they were ready and willing to purchase at the expense of the entire spiritual heritage of the ghetto—but not entrance into the Christian Church. Thus, if only for this reason, it was essential that the Synagogue should be preserved as a counter-institution against the Church. At the same time, the synagogue was the only form of spiritual distinctness for which there was room in modern life. Of a state composed of a number of nationalities, permitting of an independent development of the culture of each, of course nothing was known before the second half of the nineteenth century. Then, at the time and in the countries of Jewish emancipation, there was only one national state with a homogeneous national culture. The heterogeneity of separate groups in the state could manifest itself only in the sphere of religion, thanks to the general guarantee of religious freedom dating from the Peace of Westphalia. In like manner the Jews could be included in the bodypolitic only as a religious community with the right of religious freedom.

Thus once more, as so often in the past, the course of Jewish history was determined, not by the Jews, but by their non-Tewish environment. the spiritual heritage of the ghettolaw, language, literature, national consciousness and national hopes—was thus merged into the "religion." It remained the only avenue of expression of the Jewish consciousness for emancipated Jewry. This was the last great shrinking process that time-honored Judaism experienced, a very considerable letting of blood as the price of its political emancipation and its entrance into the civilization of Christian Europe.

But even this religion did not emerge intact from the general deluge. It, too, unmistakably bears the mark of emancipation. For a long time it had to wade deep through the waters of Christian civilization before it could save itself by a hair's breadth on the farther bank. When the call for assembling sounded there the movement "away from Judaism" had already wrought havoc. "The Jews and the Judaism that we wished to reconstruct are torn to shreds and are the prey of barbarians, fools, money-

changers, idiots and parnasim. Man a sun will set over this generation and find it just as it is to-day—shatered, drifting away into the Christian Notreligion—without stamina or principle, partly in the old muck, thruly aside by Europe, still vegetating—with dry eyes gazing out eagerly for the ass of the Messiah or some other longears'—partly thumbing state propers or the dictionary; now wealth now bankrupt, now oppressed, now to erated. Their own science is departed. Their own science is departed Zunz in 1823.

But where the refined, sensitive reco ture of a Zunz felt disgusted and : pelled and forced to seek refuge itself, some sturdier natures set the selves to the task of rescuing whater still remained to be rescued of Jewish consciousness. Their philo phy was opportunism; their meth compromise. They sanctioned 1707 prevailing devastation and exalted empty, boastful "Zeitbewusstsein" the place of a philosophical principles These men were the Reformers They were men of practities Judaism. wisdom. They stemmed the tide religious anarchy and the falling aver from Judaism, not by means of a poly erful idea, not through a towering the sonality, but by means of an organ in L tion, the Reform Synagogue. On In alone rests their claim to immorta 180 in Jewish history; in this alone their work constructive.

Their own Jewish consciousness already chilled to the bone. The cing

ionalism of the Mendelssohnian priod had congealed the warm spring the mystic element in Judaism. They inted to understand all things; they inted everything explained. Of the stic growth and development in the alm of the emotions where, far om the light of the sun, religious exriences are born, they had no con-Their catchword was "enption. thtenment" ($Aufkl\ddot{a}rung$), their ethwere the ethics of Christian Eupe, their theology the ideals of the rench Revolution, their religious thetics the esthetics of Protestantism, eir religious - philosophical principle, e Zeitbewusstsein, their ultimate aim be absorbed in a sacred humanity. hey were men of the Sturm und rang, and still, properly speaking, not ee men, for there still trembled in eir soul the dread of the rod of the hristian taskmaster, whose disaproval was to be avoided even by the nancipated.

Just think of the irony of history! hese men, into whose very bones the hristianity of Europe had penetrated, ere to be the saviours and upbuilders f modern Judaism! Let us examine heir work as it has been evolved most ally and freely in America. The dong away with the obligatory force of he Law, the elimination of the hope of ion and of the prayer for the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem from he liturgy, the attempt to put an end of the Abrahamitic rite in the case of roselytes, as well as the claim of eing the only true and pure continua-

tion of the original prophetic Judaism, belong just as truly to the history of the Reformed Synagogue as to that of the old Christian Church. For it was just these points in which in the second century after Christ the separation of Christianity from the old Judaism manifested itself, as may be learned from Joel's Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte (Part II). The exclusive recognition of the Bible as the source of religious authority and the rejection of Oral tradition, as well as the employment of the vernacular in the service in place of Hebrew, have their exact counterparts in the Lutheran Protestant Reformation in Christianity. Yes, the very concept of a Reform which holds itself entitled to eliminate such essentials as the Law (Halakah) or the entire oral Tradition from the religious system substituting anything in its place is copied from Protestantism. Judaism, up to that time, there had been only individual reforms, i. e. the same reality could be given a new form for the purpose of conserving it if the old form no longer amply represented it, as e. g. the Pharisaic substitution of a fine for corporal punishment in "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." Other matters, such as removing the hat at prayer, the use of the organ and the mixed choir, etc., might be mentioned in order to show that Reform Judaism in its adaptation to Christianity in the nineteenth century has had to go through the same stages of development in religious life as Christianity in an earlier period in its adaptation to paganism.

And the result of this adaptation—a Judaism without backbone or substance; with its old doctrines thrown into a corner for the rats and the bats, and with a few general humanitarian ideals—the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, justice, righteousness, peace and other ideals given as the total content of Judaism—ideals which naturally flourish in a very highly developed form in Jewish consciousness, but still neither exhaust the doctrinal content of Judaism nor distinguish Judaism from Christianity or Islam in any way, for these ideals are common to all three; its ethics as they are practiced in no way distinguished from Christian ethics if we overlook the purely theoretic whim of Christian self-abnegation and non-resistance; its ritual absolutely eliminated from daily life, or, rather, contracted into the Sabbath and festival liturgy of the synagogal service, which in itself bears the unmistakable imprint of Christian influence on its forehead—in the elimination of Hebrew and of the congregational prayer, in the introduction of the organ and the mixed choir, in removing the hat, in the seating together of men and women and in the Sunday services, etc.

This, then, is the condition of the bulwark which Jewish consciousness has erected for itself in the Synagogue against the Christianity of the Church, and behind which it desired to preserve its identity. But with what ter-

rible force the enemy has inflicted breaches here! The hill upon which this bulwark was constructed has been gradually sinking lower and lower while one layer after the other has slip down into the depths, so that the hill i no longer noticeably higher than it surroundings. In other words, life i removing the point of the old con trast between Christianity and Juda ism and is still continuing the leveling process. The Church itself, under that influence of European civilization, i suffering a constant revision of it doctrines, a fact which naturally must bring it about that the Church wi constantly seem less and less repulsiv to the Tews.

Moreover, the Church is not the only—and in the twentieth centur perhaps not even the strongest—mean through which Christianity permeate the lives of nations. Let us not forget that the whole of modern civilization vea, even the modern State, is an off shoot of Christianity. In America als public life, by virtue of unwritten cus toms which permit of no regulation through constitutions, is Christian, fact which leads to ever-increasin conflicts with school boards and court of law. Through every imaginable chink and gap Christianity forces itself upon our consciousness—the press, lit erature, the theater, art, music, th public schools, social intercourse, bus: ness life, with its legal or conventional Sundays and holidays—all help t reconcile us inwardly with Christian ity and to hollow out more and more

he life of our non-Jewish neighbors, rest on their rest days, speak their language, read their literature, sing their songs and enjoy their art, until at last the content of our consciousness differs from theirs in no respect, and the question is forced upon us, "Why am I a Jew?"—a question which in itself is already a herald of approaching death, and one which spreads a foul odor very offensive to refined natures.

"Why am I a Jew?" What makes me spiritually a Jew? The answer must be: The protest against, or the negation of, Christianity. Upon this protest the Reform Synagogue is built. In it, the positive—is negative!

It lives on contradiction and with this must die, and that so much the quicker because our own opposition in the case of ourever-progressing adaptation to Christianity in church and culture is weakening daily. For the Reform, like all the earlier movements in Judasm, is lacking in self-determination. The day of its official death will be set by Christianity, and, indeed, it will be that day when Christianity is ready to correct a mathematical error of long standing, and, in general, to set back its doctrines, which had been exalted to Halakah, to the position which they originally occupied, namely, that of free, unbinding Haggadah. Modern Reform Judaism is approaching with gigantic strides the form of existence

which the Talmud (Sanh. 52a, 92a) ascribes to the sons of Aaron, who brought strange fire upon the altar of God: "Serefat neshamah we-guf kayyam"—their soul consumed, only a lifeless clod remaining.

"Ghetto or world-culture," that has so far been the tragic alternative of Jewish history. In the glietto—class legislation, economic ruin and spiritual stagnation. In the civilization of the world—material welfare, legal equality, but spiritual submission in the great sea of Christianity. From the day that the broad rational liberalism of a Lessing, a Dohm, a Montesquieu and a Mirabeau burst the gates of the ghetto until this very hour this de-Judaizing stream has been flowing without ever ceasing. It has its source and its fount in the great ghettoes of Eastern Europe, and it flows into the broad sea of the Christian civilization of Western Europe. This movement—"away from the ghetto"-has been forced upon the Jews through industrial competition, which renders an inner coalescence with the surrounding civilization imperative. It corresponds at the same time with the peculiar inner struggle of the Jews for more light, for a more highly-developed form of life than that of the ghetto. But in every case so far it has been Judaism that had to pay the forfeit in this struggle "from the Ghetto to Culture;" in every case it is the general civilization of our nonJewish surroundings that has threatened to become the natural grave of the spirit of the Jewish people.

But still here, too, there is a powerful, a sacred no! The spirit of the people utters it, precisely because it is not willing to die. The spirit of the people utters it because it cannot die. Wonderful and unfathomable is the working of the spirit of a people. Slowly and timidly it makes itself felt at first, here by a youth and there by an old man, revealing itself in an inexorable demand which does not permit them to rest. When once such an eternal word has found a place in their souls they must proclaim it in order to free themselves of the burden within, and their word finds attentive ears and warm hearts here and there, for their word is truth. Then a feeling of relief spreads throughout the world, while among all the bent backs here and there one more straightens out, and there arise men of the sacred no, determined to depart from the old rut in order to proceed to a better future.

Thus works the spirit of the Jewish people, too; it cannot, it will not, die. For it is not of this world. Like Prometheus, it is an offspring of the oldest race of the gods cast aside by Jupiter, the earth-born son of Uranus and his generation of gods. Like Prometheus, who stole fire from Heaven for man, it has been chained for many decades to a rock overlooking an abyss. But, like Prometheus, it breaks its bonds

and is seized by a wild desire for action, a joy in work and an indomitable defiance for Zeus and his generation.

Wähntest du etwa,
Ich sollte das Leben hassen,
In Wüsten fliehen,
Weil nicht alle
Blüthenträume reiften?
Hier sitz ich, forme Menschen
Nach meinem Bilde,
Ein Geschlecht, das mir gleich sei,
Zu leiden, zu weinen,
Zu geniessen und zu freuen sich,
Und dein nicht zu achten,
Wie ich!

-Goethe: Prometheus.

In plain prose, What do we want? No more nor less than the regeneration of the Jewish Spirit on its native soil. We wish to create in Palestine a national spiritual center—"a center near and dear to the whole people, uniting and combining it; a center of learning and of knowledge, of language and literature, of purification of body and soul; a true miniature of Israel as it should be" (Ahad Haam). For this we are creating the preliminary accessories. We wish to bring Palestine under Jewish influence and into the possession of Jews through agricultural, commercial and technical operations. Along with this we wish to create every possible modeducational opportunity—public schools, high schools, technical and agricultural schools, schools of art and music, libraries and museums, etc.-

nd wish thereby to furnish to a spirually and physically healthy Jewish opulation a free opportunity for selfevelopment. In this way it may, nay, s we believe, it will, come to pass that nis young Israel will create a new piritual center in Palestine through hich, at the same time, the spiritual egeneration of the whole diaspora ay be assured, for there would the hole of life, in all its expressions, be arely Jewish. Jewish spirit would e free to live in school and at home, public life and in private affairs, nd would no more allow itself to be tificially limited in space to the syngogue, in time to two hours a week n Saturday or Sunday morning, and content to a few general human hico-religious ideals. Once more ould Prometheus Unbound be able to rest fire from Heaven and become the enefactor of mankind. There it ould be granted the Jewish spirit to complish great things in art and cience, in trade and industry, for the onor and glory of the nation, for the ood and welfare of humanity.

Here there could also be friendly tercourse on a basis of equality beveen Judaism and the civilization of the world, and the old antagonism beveen Jewish and general culture, hich thus far has always ended in a ne-sided compromise at the expense is the former, would give place to a ue, a thorough synthesis, in which a rall exchange of spiritual and material roducts between Israel and the world ould take place. Then would Israel

sit in the spiritual council of civilized nations, not merely as one with *equal* rights, but as one with *full* rights. The question of the right of the Jewish people to exist will cease to be on the day when they begin producing as a people instead of living as parasites or stagnating.

Of course we can create only the preliminary conditions necessary for all this. In what direction the spirit of the Jew will develop in the future no one but professional theologians can know in advance. The task of taking the necessary preliminary steps, such as buying land, getting charters for industrial enterprises and establishing schools, falls naturally to the lot of Political Zionism without which the cultural side could never accomplish its purpose. To contrast political Zionism with cultural or moral Zionism as separate things and for one to declare that he is antagonistic only to the first but not to the other, is, therefore, mere hair-splitting, requiring no further discussion.

The endeavor to bring about a Jewish renaissance in Palestine will, in turn, breathe a spirit into the dry bones of western Judaism, and it shall live. Above all, it will give the body of the Jewish people, so long tossed about, the sport of the waves, on the sea of history, a compass at last, a common idea, a sacred task.

We may easily understand that the older reformers are hostile to Zionism, for, according to their opinion, the Jewish spirit has already reached its high-

est development in Reform Judaism. They have already interpreted everything to themselves so nicely—our dispersion as an act of Divine favor and providence, the fading of our spirit as universalism, the denial of our national tradition as progress, our adaptability as originality, our helpless appeal to eternal justice as a mission, our massacres as the birth-pangs of the Messianic era, our absorption into Christianity a conquest of the world. And now comes Zionism, turning everything topsy-turvy. In the powerless protest of these men the spiritual accumulation of a dying generation is struggling against the onslaught of a new era.

History knows no going backwards. Zionism cannot eliminate the Reform period from Jewish history. Zionism must come to an understanding with This has already been accomplished in Europe. In America we are in the midst of the conflict. The outcome cannot be doubtful even here. True, the new unity which will spring from the contest of these historical forces will appear greatly modified. But this much is clear to the younger generation of both camps even now-Reform Judaism "will be Zionistic or it will not be at all."